THE New Republic

BUSY DAYS FOR "GIVE 'EM HELL HARRIMAN"

PAGES 7-8

Why Might They Go for Symington?

by ROBERT L. RIGGS

Brimstone and Silver . . . . . *Francis Hackett*

More Cars than Buyers . . . . . *B. J. Widick*

E. M. Forster's Great-Aunt . . . . . *Ivor Brown*

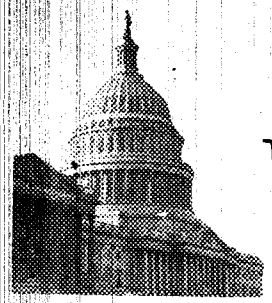
A Thorn in the Flesh . . . . . *Reinhold Niebuhr*

The Submerged Moderates . . . . *Benjamin Muse*

MAY 28, 1956

20c

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Washington Wire

Facing up to reality

THE MOST disturbing thing in Washington these days is to see world trends going one way; America standing still. We often seem to have a Maginot Line of out-dated ideas. For example:

It is almost a test of patriotism to assume America's ascendancy over Soviet industry and science yet actually Moscow is catching up with, or passing, us; it is training more engineers; in the arms race Soviet equality is now increasingly taken for granted here. It is amazing how little popular anxiety this creates.

America's defense is geared to overseas military bases—yet how secure are these bases? In Iceland, for example, each of the five rival parties at next month's election is pledged to ousting the US Air Force.

The Administration won't face realities in China. Red China, unfortunately, appears here to stay; it will probably be admitted to the UN this year; Egypt is the latest country to recognize her. But the US official position is fixed, rigid—and increasingly isolated.

Masses of Americans confuse "neutrals" with "Communists." They have had precious little official guidance to undeceive them.

Trade with Iron Curtain countries is bound to grow. Some of our allies can't live without it. Yet Washington's position continues rigid and inflexible. Such rigidity inevitably makes trouble with our allies, currently with Britain.

The fallacy that foreign aid is just a one-sided "giveaway," and that wealthy US can bludgeon its allies and the neutrals by economic pressure, is a continuing example of unrealistic chauvinistic thinking.

Dim-view Dulles

THEN THERE IS Official Negativism. A classic example came last week when after 40 minutes of gloomy comment by Secretary Dulles on Russia's decision to cut its armed forces by 1.2 million, a *Toronto Star* correspondent finally asked "whether it would not be a fair interpretation of what the Secretary had been saying that he was sorry to hear of the Soviet arms cut?" To the amazement of a big audience Dulles did not say "No," he agreed—"I should rather see them (the 1.2 million) in the Army, standing around doing guard duty than [outside] making atomic bombs."

People go around Washington these days saying, "Let's be daring and imaginative in world thinking!" But America can't have it both ways. This is not a daring or imaginative Administration. That is one reason why it is so popular. America wants to relax, and Eisenhower is letting it. He means well, of course. He believes in internationalism, he has talked about re-making the Republican Party. But things remain much the same.

This column believes there is a tremendous amount of latent isolationism in America. As world tension subsides it is likely to come forth. If Ike is re-elected, as seems likely, he will have to fight it. But how far will Ike fight? An alert President could combat these fallacies. But that involves a positive type of leadership that goes beyond moral generalities.

Let John do it

WE ARE deeply interested in the syndicated articles by NY *Herald Tribune* correspondent Robert J. Donovan. They will be published in book form this summer. The White House has given Donovan direct access to the minutes of Cabinet meetings and many other confidential documents. Donovan reports that when Eisenhower took office the GOP right-wing so upset him that he gave "prolonged thought" to the idea of starting a "third party." This revelation only goes to confirm the belief of many of us in Eisenhower's political naïveté at the outset of his White House career. Then Donovan cites Cabinet meeting after meeting in 1953 and 1954 when the President denounced McCarthy. But did he do so publicly? No. When adviser C. D. Jackson on Dec. 2, 1953, offered a proposed statement for Eisenhower to make at his press conference next day attacking McCarthy, Eisenhower reportedly "banged it dow on his desk." He said, "I will not get i the gutter with *that* guy." He left th job of meeting McCarthyism to other It is a formula for avoiding fuss an staying popular. This column is gla it was not silent about McCarthyism.

Wonderful AD-X2!

A PANEL of distinguished specialis selected by the National Academy o Sciences in 1953 unanimously decide that the controversial battery restorativ AD-X2 is "without merit." The Burea of Standards said the same thing. Bu the Federal Trade Commission has ju lifted its ban on the magical whit powder (composed mainly of Epso Salts) arguing that the testimonials o happy users outweigh "scientific" ev dence. Here is a touch of mysticism w can all understand; and who, fo example, really knows why a batte operates and why it will sometimes l your engine down and then, if kicke turn it over? The decision symboliz something more, the victory of busines men over scientists, of squareheads ove eggheads, of the people who think th earth is flat over people with telescope of the government-mustn't-touch-schoo over the government-responsibili school. AD-X2 symbolizes AD 195 too, we think. Ah, wonderful powder Sprinkle some on a diplomatic defe and it becomes a victory, on a commo place product and it becomes a desire one, on a politician and he becomes statesman. . . . As to your automobil friend, about all we can say is th AD-X2 is a soluble white powder whic if put into your car battery almost ce tainly does it no harm.

Winnie again

HOWARD B. KECK, California oilma whose $2,500 contribution precipitate the Senate lobby inquiry, now admi having given $5,000 to the GOP at th Eisenhower dinner celebration earlie . . . It was just 10 years ago th Churchill's Fulton, Mo., speech created furor by warning against the postw Soviet; now at Aachen, German Churchill cites the possibility that "new" Russia may someday be a sociated with NATO, a speech wi similar controversial overtones.

T.R.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New Republic
A JOURNAL OF OPINION

MAY 28, 1956

THE WEEK 3
Behind the Arms Cut; President Sukarno; Where the Will Is There; Ball and Chain Aid; Keynoter Clement; The Decision in Oregon; Give-'em-Hell Harriman; From Fulton to Aachen

ARTICLES 9
Why Might They Go for Symington? by Robert L. Riggs
More Cars than Buyers By B. J. Widick and Howard E. Shuman
The Submerged Moderates by Benjamin Muse

BOOKS AND COMMENT 16
Brimstone and Silver by Francis Hackett
Reviews: Marianne Thornton; Eisenhower the President; Naught for your Comfort; Raquel.

TELEVISION 22

VOL. 134, NO. 22, ISSUE 2166

Correspondence

► ***The Big-Business Hero***

SIRS:

The business-novel review of May 14th caught my interest from the first, with the title and beginning paragraphs setting the stage for a kick-them-in-their-business-pants attitude. I delighted in Mr. Malcolm's only slightly labored understatements and in general agree with his understanding of the genre's characteristic formula. Mr. deMare's *The Empire* does indeed sound hardly worth the effort to review, but I was disappointed with Mr. Malcolm's interpretation of the climax scene in the film *Executive Suite*. He seemed to be dragging one statement from that scene out of context in order to bolster his "liberal" viewpoint. William Holden may have used the persuading point that quality production was the policy of

(Continued on page 23)

Behind the Arms Cut

WITHIN one year, if the Kremlin announcement of May 14 is accurate, there will be 1,840,000 fewer men in uniform in the Soviet Union than there were in 1955. That is a welcome development, but not one which justifies complacency, since the announcement itself dispels the notion that Russia's capacity to wage modern war will be lessened; it explains:

> In carrying out this new reduction of armed forces and armaments the Soviet Government proceeds from the premise that . . . the forces of peace have become considerably stronger. They are better organized and have at their disposal many resources so as to give a due rebuff to any attempts at violating peace.

Until this year the Soviet "forces of peace" were maintained on an old-fashioned basis. The 20 divisions of the United States Army have each been backed by 40,000 service personnel, making each one a mobile, self-reliant force. The 175 Soviet divisions have been smaller in size and lacking in logistical support. The Soviet method in warfare was to advance and then to halt while the supply wagons caught up, foraging as far as possible off the surrounding countryside. That kind of warfare, combined with a crushing superiority in numbers, was able to drive back the German armies, but it is obsolete today. The Soviet armed forces, in consequence, have been undergoing a basic reorganization. "The relative strength of aviation in the composition of the armed forces has considerably increased," Marshal Zhukov told the 20th Communist Party Congress in February. The role of the ground forces has been downgraded, as it was in this country in 1953.

Beyond this military need for modernization, the economic objectives to which the collective leadership is committed require a shift in manpower from military to civilian employment. This shift is undertaken at the moment when (Khrushchev told an English audience) the Kremlin has gained the power to unload hydrogen bombs on any part of the world.

If the Soviet arms cut was ordained by military and economic logic, it still offered a major opportunity for obtaining reciprocal reductions in the military budgets of the West. The first attempts to obtain this reduction were made by the Kremlin in the disarmament negotiations. The Soviet Government made it plain that it would consider disarmament in conventional forces in exchange for the elimination of nuclear weapons on which we relied. And, in response to our insistence that no disarmament could be contemplated without enforceable inspection, it presented to the London conferees, on March 27, an attractive inspection plan. But the Western allies, rejecting the Soviet offer, stood fast on Eisenhower's "open sky" proposal on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. The Russians then turned to unilateral

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

action, coupled with a direct and powerful appeal to public opinion. "The new reduction," the Soviet announcement, of May 15 states:

> proves better than any words that the Soviet Union is a genuine and loyal champion of peace . . . other governments, including the governments of the United States, Britain and France, insofar as they are sincerely willing to contribute to the strengthening of peace, cannot but follow this example.

The Russians are thus seeking an uninspected, uncontrolled reduction of armaments. And by indirection they are getting it today. France has transferred 400,000 front line troops from NATO's defenses to fight the Arabs in Algeria. Britain is now cutting her armed forces from 770,000 to 700,000. The United States has reduced its military personnel from 3.5 million in 1953 to 2.8 million today. And the Eisenhower Administration is not even trying to overcome the numerical gap that is widening between the Soviet intercontinental bombing force and our own. The concept of the second best air force, ruled out under President Truman, has been accepted by President Eisenhower, evidently in the belief that it is not necessary to ensure a military victory in nuclear war but simply to possess enough striking power to deprive "victory" of its meaning.

Granting that formal agreements based on enforceable inspection are unattainable, the Administration seems to be gambling on the uncontrolled arms reduction favored by the Russians in which each side cuts its ground forces, waits for the enemy to follow suit, verifies the enemy's claims as best it can, and then proceeds with a further reduction. In this spirit European parliaments are now discussing new reductions of armaments (as the Kremlin hoped they would). In this same spirit Harold Stassen recently commended Congress for failing to appropriate an extra billion to bring our intercontinental bombing force closer to the Soviet force in size. Such an action, he said, "might have brought reaction from the other side."

Unsystematic as it is, this de facto process, by which the armaments of both sides are kept in balance and slowly reduced, may well prove to be the method by which arms reduction comes about. That, at least, is the most hopeful interpretation one can give to Soviet announcement, coming as it has after the many inconclusive disarmament conferences which have be held in the past several years.

President Sukarno

"THIS fellow has out-Nixoned Nixon," said Eric Johnson to the Vice President's wife as they watched President Sukarno's personal triumph in Washington. "Who do you think taught him?" Mrs. Nixon replied.

Stating Indonesia's case directly without being curt, humbly but without a trace of deference, Sukarno in hi amiable Javanese way has demonstrated how to win friendly hearing for neutralism in heretofore unfriendl Washington. When he told Congress that Indonesi would accept foreign assistance "from whatever quarte it may come," he appeared to be saying matter-of-factl what no reasonable man could challenge. Nor did h seem to be looking for a quarrel when he observed tha US military aid in Asia "will only serve to make countrie accepting it more dependent upon America."

Perhaps, too, Sukarno's visit came at the right momen For in Washington there is a new mood of questionin and uncertainty, a willingness to reexamine attitudes to ward new (and neutralist) nationalisms. Whatever ac counts for Sukarno's cordial encounter with the Unite States, the explanation does not lie in the specific politi cal controversies which agitate US-Indonesian relations Sukarno or no Sukarno, the United States does not sup port Indonesia's claim to Dutch-held West New Guinea adjacent to Australia's air bases in East New Guinea This comes as no surprise to Sukarno for in Djakarta a in Delhi it is taken for granted that the United State will side with its non-Asian allies in a dispute with a Asian power.

To the dispersed peoples of Java, Sumatra, Celebes and Indonesia's myriad other islands, the external colo nial symbol remains a potent unifier—and ironically, fo all the American cheers which greet Sukarno's eloquenc on behalf of nationalism, the United States continues t serve the leaders of Asia as their anti-colonial whippin boy.

Where the Will Is There

"THE PEOPLE of Kentucky are accepting integratio very well indeed," wrote State Superintendent o Public Instruction Robert R. Martin. "But the or derly process is being handicapped" by the lack of ade quate facilities."

In a letter to Representative Stewart L. Udall (D

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1826 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

GILBERT A. HARRISON, *Editor and Publisher*
MICHAEL STRAIGHT, *Editor-at-Large*
HELEN FULLER, *Managing Editor*

Robert Evett, *Book Editor* — Selig S. Harrison, *Assoc. Editor*
Delmore Schwartz, *Poetry Editor* — Eric Bentley, *Theatre Critic*
Donald Malcolm, *Staff Writer* — Irvin Shapiro, *Design*
Lucille Davis, *Copy Asst.* — F. R. Ruskin, *Admin. Asst.*

Published weekly and Copyrighted, 1956 in the USA by New Republic, Inc. Phone: REpublic 7-8656. Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1950, at the post office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy, 20c; Yearly subscription, $7.00; Foreign, $8.00; Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Please include both old and new addresses.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ariz.), sponsor of a constructive new integration measure n the House, Martin cited the case of Adair County. There the Board of Education recently postponed integration pending new school construction—touching off Kentucky's sole litigation since the Supreme Court decision.

Superintendent Martin reflects influential Border State support for Udall's legislation, which may prove to be a significant break-through in federal aid to education. A House subcommittee has approved it.

Unlike Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D, NY), who would penalize school districts defying the Court, Udall adopts the affirmative approach, and one that appears to have some chance of getting more schools built. His bill would bolster those school districts willing but financially unable to implement desegregation, allowing them up to $450 million in federal aid over a three-year period. In effect, Udall is leading the horse to water on the promise that the horse will drink. The subsidy he proposes would *not* be available to school districts which have determined to all intents and purposes to nullify the ruling.

The bill has been so drafted that it can be enacted as separate legislation, or as an amendment to pending legislation to extend the Federal Impact Program, under which school systems overburdened by federal installations are given federal aid. Representative Udall contends that desegregation constitutes "as much a federal impact as the establishment of an air base in a community." If the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People proposes to attach a "Powell amendment" to the Federal Impact Program, Udall may offer his own amendment instead. But his proposal can likewise stand on its own. To the highly controversial debate on both federal aid to education and school desegregation Representative Udall has brought a concrete suggestion which is both right and politically feasible.

Ball and Chain Aid

THE FIRST restrictions which the House Foreign Affairs Committee wrote into the foreign-aid bill show how little the legislators have understood the two great political forces in Asia. One is the emotional drive, bordering on hysteria, of Asian people for independence from their former colonial masters—in politics, economic relations and military policy. Even in those nations allied with the United States this spirit is strong and it has grown, not diminished, since the Bandung Afro-Asian conference last year.

Another historic force is the psychological blast of the super bomb, which is forcing all nations not in possession of nuclear weapons to pull back from close association with either side in the Cold War and to seek ways to moderate and restain the powers furthest ahead in the development of nuclear energy.

The Soviets have grasped this will for non-alignment and have accompanied their offers of trade-and-aid with compliments on the Asian desire for neutrality. Soviet sincerity may be questioned, but there is no question that Soviet offers have attracted great Asian response. This is why many critics of the present US aid program have urged a new approach to Asia: a policy to bolster independence, not subservience; a program that makes it easier for Asians to accept American help without losing self-respect.

How did the House Foreign Affairs Committee respond to the new realities? It first rejected President Eisenhower's request for authority to make 10-year commitments on specific projects, a request related specifically to the Aswan Dam in Egypt. Net effect: The Russians can now offer a 10-year dam construction agreement; we cannot.

The President also sought greater flexibility by requesting $100 million for the Middle East and $100 million for South Asia, as a whole, to be used at his discretion. The Committee lumped these requests, cut the total by $100 million and added political conditions that would make American aid unacceptable. One condition prohibited aid to any country that did not observe the American trade restrictions against the Soviet Union and Communist China. The other prohibited aid to any country that does not sign an investment guarantee treaty with the United States.

No Asian government now conforms to the American trade restrictions on Communist China, and not a single neutralist country now has a private investment treaty with the US. Even if the governments were sympathetic with the purpose of Congress, they could not accept these conditions without publicly acknowledging a puppet dependence on Washington. The House Committee showed good sense in striking out the trade restrictions within 24 hours after the first vote. If the other restrictions are not removed by the House, it is imperative that the Senate—which is usually more responsible on foreign-aid matters—show greater awareness of the subtleties of relationship between haves and have-nots in the nuclear age.

NEXT WEEK

THE RUSSIANS and the British are closer than the United States to putting atomic power to practical, peacetime use. Why? Haldore Hanson examines this question in our next issue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Ifs" in the Economy

ON PAGES 11 and 12 of this issue, we print two articles which call attention to some economic storm clouds, chiefly those over our farms and over our auto and home construction industries. As far as the auto industry is concerned, no upturn is expected in the immediate future, for the simple and adequate reasons that the cost of non-durable goods and services has gone up and the public has already accumulated a sizable installment debt. The money simply isn't there.

The trouble in the auto industry is bound to make itself felt elsewhere. The railroads, if the latest figures for miscellaneous freight (which includes autos) can be taken as an indication, are beginning to feel the effect, showing a slight decline from last year. And the present large inventories of steel, unless they are run off in the fairly near future, will inevitably lead to curtailed production in that industry.

To a certain extent, the decline in consumer-goods industries may be offset by increases in the producer-goods industries. The latest McGraw-Hill survey suggests that the amount of money business intends to spend this year on new plants and equipment will amount to $39 billion —some $4 billion more than was estimated by the Department of Commerce two months ago. This would represent a healthy increase in investment of 30 percent over the record year of 1955.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the McGraw-Hill survey represents only what business *intends* to spend. There is a very good chance that shortages of skilled manpower and of such materials as structural steel will force postponement of some of this contemplated expansion. And if the present lull in auto sales and home building continues or spreads, increasing numbers of businessmen will feel inclined to retrench, with results that will be felt in the producer-goods industries.

Keynoter Clement

THIRTY-FIVE-YEAR-OLD Frank Clement, Governor of Tennessee, possesses oratorical talents which have brought him the unofficial title of "the Billy Graham of politics." He has become the rumored choice of influential Democrats as the keynote speaker at the Democratic national convention. At one time, he was even suggested as a possible vice-presidential candidate.

On the segregation issue, Governor Clement leans to "moderation"; that is, he has urged both whites and Negroes to adopt a "Christian attitude" in dealing with racial problems, adding, however (and presumably with some pride), that "there is not a single integrated public school in this state except those in Oak Ridge, and they are under federal control."

"I promised myself," Mr. Clement recently told a audience at the West Tennessee Strawberry Festival, "t continue to do what is right. I am going to live up to the promise—unless I am convinced that there is some reaso for making a change."

The Decision in Oregon

NO MATTER who won the Republican nomination fo Senator in the Oregon primary last week, the Demo crats were prepared to like it. If the nomination went t Douglas McKay, who resigned as Secretary of the In terior to run as the Eisenhower-approved candidate, hi record would make him a highly visible target fo charges of "giveaway" by Democratic candidate Wayn Morse—and the guarding of natural resources is a crucia issue in Oregon politics. If, on the other hand, the nomi nation went to Phil Hitchcock, McKay's chief opponen and a man whose position on natural resources is clos to Morse's own, then the primary could only be inte preted as a slap at the Administration.

As it turned out, the Democrats can find reasons fo cautious rejoicing on both counts. McKay won the nomi nation, but Hitchcock rolled up a very creditable score- about four votes to every five for McKay—and a sizabl portion of this tally must be seen as a protest vote agains McKay (perhaps it is significant that a number of dis gruntled Portland Republicans were seen changing thei Hitchcock buttons for Morse buttons as the returns bc came known Friday night).

But Morse has a protest vote of his own to worr about. His five-to-one victory over his opponent ca hardly be considered an overwhelming one in view o the fact that his opponent, a filling station operato named Woodrow Wilson Smith, waged no campaign an is a complete unknown in Oregon politics. It may safel be assumed that Morse will receive no comfort from thi group in the November campaign, and his prospects no depend in large measure upon his attracting the disen chanted Hitchcock wing of the GOP.

The Oregon Presidential primary was encouraging fo Democrats in general and Adlai Stevenson in particula Since the names of the Presidential candidates did nc appear on the Democratic ballot, it was anticipated tha only 15 to 30 percent of the voters would write in thei choices. Party leaders were understandably gratified whe the actual number was in the neighborhood of 65 percer (as compared with an approximate 10 percent write-i for Nixon on the Republican ballot). The same figure- 65 percent—represented Stevenson's margin of victor over Kefauver; this in spite of what was generally con sidered a poor campaign by Stevenson's supporters in th early stages, and the fact that Kefauver was well know in Oregon from his victory in the 1952 primary.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Give-em-Hell Harriman"

GOVERNOR Averell Harriman had endured two full days of campaigning for the Democratic nomination for President. He was midway in a third when a youngster at Washington State College asked him, flatly, to explain a "contradiction." "How can you say you're an inactive candidate when you're out here looking for delegate support at the Democratic National Convention?"

The tall, suave Governor of New York blinked a couple of times, smiled, and in the cultured resonance of his estate, he replied:

> If you are interested in supporting me, I welcome that question very much. I'm on this trip for the Democratic Party. I'm not developing any organization. Some Democrats in Wyoming said they would support me, and I welcomed their support. I did not ask for it.

Then he left Pullman, Washington, for Idaho where he made several speeches, barnstormed through five towns in a motorcade of 19 cars, most of which had "Honest Ave For President" signs, addressed a dinner, ıeld a press conference, appeared on television, and met, privately, with the 24-member Idaho delegation to the Democratic National Convention. In the Governor's en-ourage were the leaders of quite active Harriman-for-President organizations in Utah, Idaho and Washington.

There were two explanations aboard the chartered Harriman campaign plane for the Governor's use of the word "inactive." One was that Governor Harriman in-ends to change the meaning of the word. The other was that he plans to be so fiercely active as *the* Demo-cratic candidate when he wins the nomination that his 16-hour-a-day, 2,567-mile electioneering swing through the West from May 13 to May 17 would be considered "inactive" by comparison.

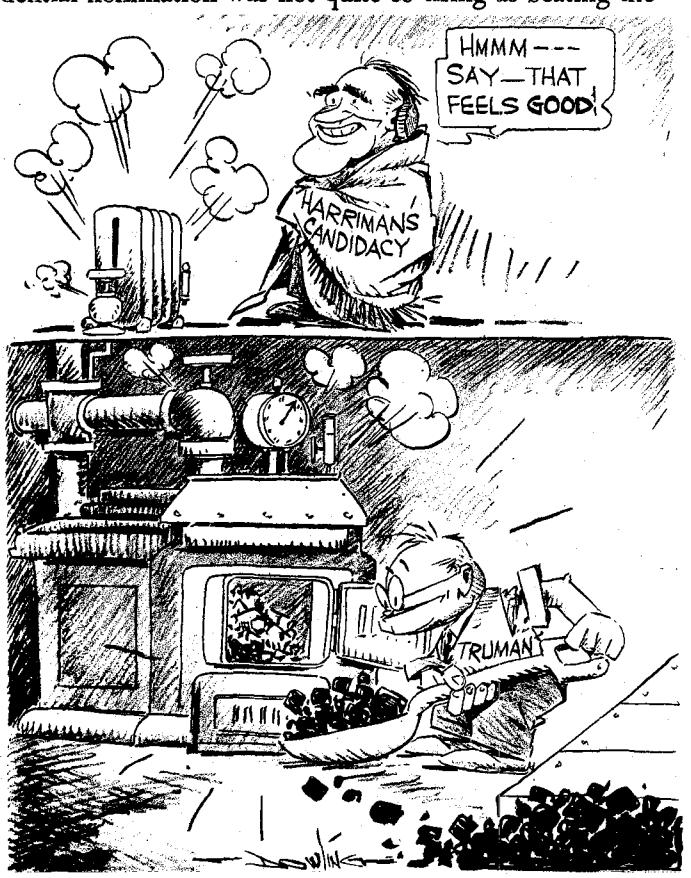
How anyone could be more active than Governor Harriman already is might be news even to that master of slow-motion jet-propulsion, Sen. Estes Kefauver. Take he day of the Washington State College student's ques-ion. Governor Harriman began it at a 7:30 a.m. break-fast with some labor leaders in Spokane. A mid-day est period was cancelled so he might tour Pocatello, Blackfoot and several other unscheduled Idaho towns. His politicking ended after midnight. The Governor left at 6:15 a.m. the following day for Utah and Nevada.

Actually, Governor Harriman's aggressive inactivity began early the first day of his Western tour. At a break-fast in Cody with potential national convention delegates from Wyoming, the Wyoming Harriman-for-President manager listed his virtues, the county chairman from Cheyenne wished him well in his campaign "here and hroughout the country," and a fine lady Democrat wear-ng a Harriman button blurted out: "We're so glad you re going to run."

The Governor was moved. He allowed as how he had been such an active Governor he hadn't had time to be an active candidate. His name will be placed in nomination at the convention as a "candidate, not a favorite son," however, he added, and he'd be mighty proud to have the support of fine folks like those in the delegation from Wyoming and everywhere else.

That was the cue for the Harriman-for-President chief from Laramie County. Up he jumped to announce that Wyoming Democracy would show the world its virility and patriotism by "casting our ballots continuously in every roll call for Harriman" because he recognized the Russian threat before anyone else. Later, the Spokane Harriman director suggested a similar demonstration of Washington Democracy's faith because Governor Harriman is "a mighty big man for the little man—he's another Franklin D. Roosevelt."

THROUGH it all, the inactive Mr. Harriman exhorted the faithful to war mightily against the Eisenhower hordes. He shook hands everywhere, was inducted into the Blackfoot Indian Tribe (an ordeal to which only an actively dedicated candidate would submit). He posed for pictures with Miss Spokane, beamed when lilac leis were strung around his neck, chucked little children under the chin in the presence of their voting-age parents, waved to everyone he saw, including newspaper reporters, and quipped that campaigning for the Presidential nomination was not quite so tiring as beating the



Copyright, 1955, N. Y. Herald Tribune

Beginning to get some attention from the landlord

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vote-producing bushes in the interest of becoming Governor of New York.

"By God," he shouted to party leaders, "we Democrats are going to fight for the small farmer!" "Big business has its place," he informed another group, emphasizing his point by pumping both hands up and down in the best Truman style, "But let's keep it in its place!"

In Butte, Montana, the mayor recalled that Harry Truman began his 1948 Give-'em-Hell campaign in Butte. Then he presented the luncheon speaker—"Give-'em-Hell Harriman, the next President of the US!"

Spokane EARL MAZO

From Fulton to Aachen

A MAJOR SPEECH by Churchill is like a Hydrogen Bomb. When the mushroom cloud has blown away, the political landscape is found to have changed for good. The fall-out remains radioactive for years—but it is not always deposited where the author intended, particularly since he so often fails to study the weather reports before producing the explosion.

Although the political value of Churchill's speeches has fallen steadily since the war, his Fulton, Missouri, speech in 1946 did much to prepare the ground in America for the Atlantic Pact. The Zurich speech helped to launch the movement for European Union, though it created misunderstandings about Conservative policy toward the Continent which Churchill himself later had cause to regret. When Stalin died, Churchill's call for summit talks changed the whole political climate in Europe. De Gasperi claimed it cost him a million votes in the Italian elections, and it put several nails into the coffin of EDC. The speech Churchill made in Aachen, Germany, on May 10 was a stab in the back for Chancellor Adenauer, and may prove highly dangerous to NATO itself—it is as if Churchill wanted to bury his own child before himself departing from the scene.

Yet, as so often, Churchill's actual words in Aachen scarcely bear the interpretation which his critics and admirers alike have read into them. He went out of his way to say: "Clearly it would be fatal for NATO now to relax and let apathy overtake what has been achieved by the efforts and financial sacrifices of the last eight years." He did not say that Russia should join NATO, but only that if the Russian repudiation of Stalin is sincere, the new Russia might join in support of "this solemn agreement to avoid the aggressor," and that "the spirit" of a coalition between Western Europe, the Commonwealth and the USA should not exclude Russia and the East European states.

What then did he mean? It is difficult to be sure. In style and structure the whole speech showed signs of failing powers. There were none of those brilliant phrases which have studded Churchill's oratory in the past. It jumping from one theme to another and back again the speech reads like the ramblings of an old man—an old man in a hurry to crown his career with one climactic contribution to world peace before he goes. Churchill himself is a supreme personality: it is not surprising that he attributes to Stalin as an individual features which have been fundamental to the Soviet system from Lenin to Khrushchev. The doctrinal elements in Soviet policy are as important today as they were 30 years ago, but Churchill has never tried to understand them.

The Aachen speech has changed the political situation in Germany for good. Made before a German audience it was inevitably interpreted as a contribution to the debate now raging throughout Germany about the relation between NATO and German unity. The Germans have inferred that Churchill of all people believes Soviet policy has changed so much as to permit Russia's entry into NATO, and that German unity can be restored through the marriage of the rival East-West blocs. The speech followed hard on press reports that George Kennan, in 1947 the apostle of containment, favors the neutralization of a united Germany. And the apparent conversion of Churchill and Kennan stands out in bold relief against the bankruptcy of orthodox Western policy as demonstrated by last month's NATO Council meeting in Paris.

German opinion was already restless about Adenauer's policy of integration with NATO; Churchill's speech has made the trend toward neutralism respectable as well as accelerating its development. It is probable that next year's elections will produce a German government pledged to seek reunification by offering Russia neutrality within a pan-European Security Pact. This new tide of German opinion faces the West with the need for an agonizing reappraisal of its whole European policy.

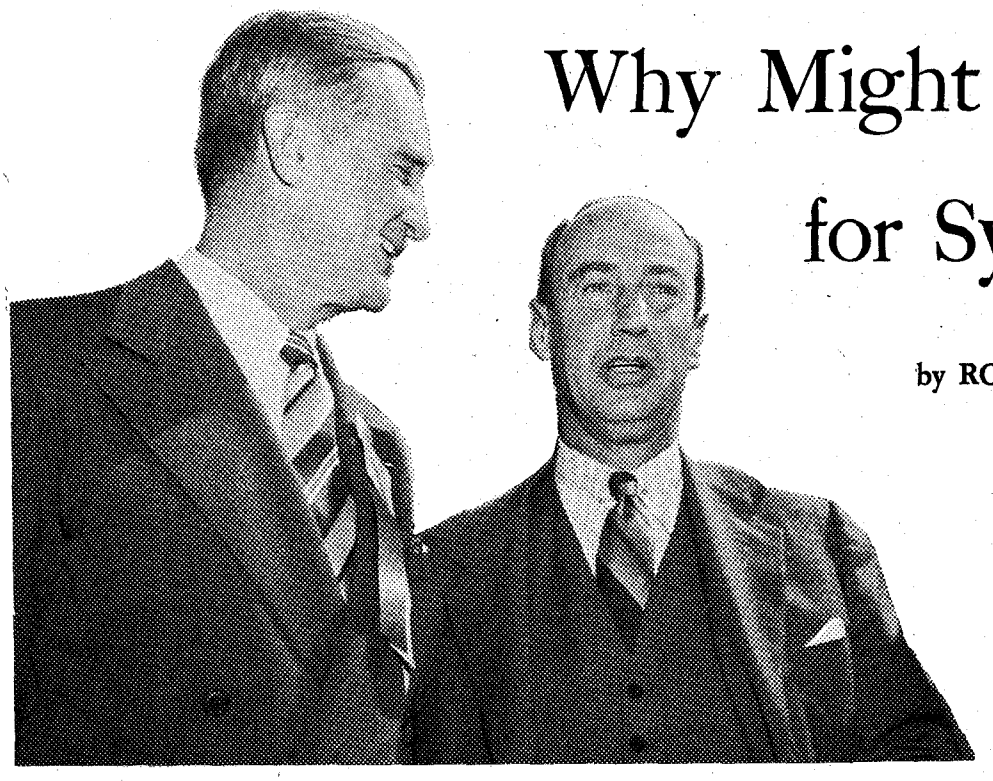
IN FACT, the Russians have never suggested they would accept neutrality as the price of free elections in the Soviet Zone. They know all too well that a Germany which is ready to throw over the Paris Treaties to gain unity one moment, would throw over neutrality to gain security once it was united. It is difficult to see what acceptable guarantees the West could offer against this sort of double-cross.

The West, on its side, has so far refused to consider the neutrality of a united Germany for fear that NATO would disintegrate if its troops had to leave Germany and that in this case there would be no acceptable means of preventing the Red Army from crossing the Rhine. So there has been a deadlock, preferred by both sides to the risks involved in any change.

German opinion is likely now to force the breaking of that deadlock.

London DENIS HEALEY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Why Might They Go for Symington?

by ROBERT L. RIGGS

AS THE BLEACHING process of political maneuver turns the leading dark horse almost white, it produces this question: "Why should it be Stu Symington?" It's been said so often that he probably will be the Democratic compromise candidate for President that we almost forget to wonder why a freshman Senator from Missouri is being groomed to receive the prize after it is denied to Adlai Stevenson, to Estes Kefauver, to Averell Harriman.

In what fields has W. Stuart Symington achieved such distinction that he has become the one upon whom North and South, liberals, middle-roaders and conservatives, segregationists and integrationists might unite? What political sagacity has he displayed, what talent has he shown in persuading men to follow him into places they prefer not to go? If it fell to your lot to arouse convention delegates, precinct workers or voters at large to espouse his cause as Democratic nominee, what could you or your ghost writer find to say?

You could say he is a handsome man of impressive bearing.

You could say he is, at 54, in just the right age group.

You could say he performed almost a political miracle in 1952 by winning a primary in a state where he had lived no more than a dozen years and where he faced the powerful opposition of Harry Truman.

You could say he extended that miracle by winning election to the Senate on the same day that Dwight D. Eisenhower carried Missouri.

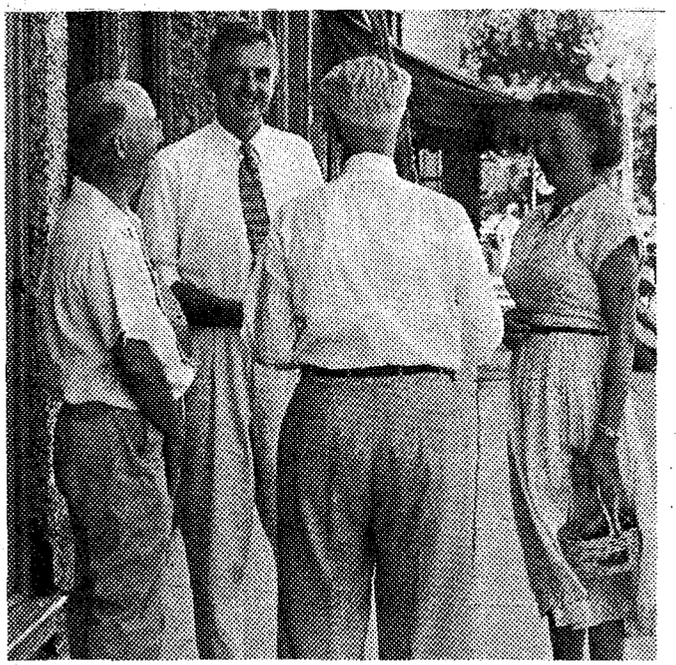
You could say that although a wealthy man of Confederate ancestry, he subscribes, though in a rather genteel way, to most of the economic and social theories of the New Deal and Fair Deal.

But that still doesn't answer the question why Senate Leader Lyndon Johnson and so many of his fellow Southerners have signed up for the movement to nominate Symington if there seems danger that either Kefauver or Harriman will nose out Stevenson. If a border-stater is the logical compromise, why not, just for example, select the senior Senator from Missouri, Thomas C. Hennings? It's only when you delve into the issue of why a man like Hennings would not be acceptable to Johnson and his followers that you begin to get an inkling why they are so pleased with Symington.

For although, on the basis of their votes and their public utterances, Symington and Hennings may be said to have virtually the same attitude on most subjects that come before Congress, there is a vast difference between them. There is scarcely an issue confronting the country that has not found Hennings fighting knee deep on one side or the other. From McCarthyism to Brickerism, from Formosa to the bill of rights and to the question of integration versus segregation, Hennings has traded blows, has inflicted wounds, has received scars. The moment an issue arises, you can tell, from vigorous past performances and utterances, where Hennings stands.

ROBERT L. RIGGS *is Washington correspondent of the* Louisville Courier Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The Senator and his wife campaigning in 1952 in "Little Dixie" section of Missouri.

By contrast, Symington has no rents in his trousers, no mud on his boots. If you have paid special attention to him, if you kept close watch on his feelings, talked with him privately about his views, you might be able to guess what Symington's attitude would be on a number of subjects. But, so far as the general public is concerned, there is only one question on which his response can be guessed in advance. That is the problem of national defense, as translated into air power—intercontinental bombers and guided missiles. For 10 years, in the Senate and out, he has made a crusade of arousing the country to the need for developing effective ways of delivering the bombs to Russia. He has looked upon himself as a voice crying in the wilderness. Symington's supporters say his obsession with the problem of air defense accounts for his apparent failure to interest himself in other issues.

Those who do not support him say his lack of interest in other issues arises solely from a lack of knowledge of or interest in the many pressing domestic questions before the country. His opponents also say—and from Symington's viewpoint this is the unkindest cut of all—that he has no more knowledge of the problems of government than has Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Which must be gall and wormwood to a Senator who is, in private at least, the Senate's most passionate non-admirer of the General in the White House. It is characteristic of the Missouri Senator that you haven't heard him castigate the President publicly. But in the quiet of his office, or at a small dinner, or in his own library, he holds forth with great feeling about Eisenhower's lack of qualifications for the Presidency. His strong sentiments against the President, whom he knows well and once liked, derive from his belief that in the White House Eisenhower has failed to maintain our air power and has misled the nation on what he has done.

Ironically, although Symington would resent comparing him with Eisenhower, it unquestionably is the similarity between them, in at least one respect, that makes the Missourian so appealing to Lyndon Johnson and his colleagues. For just as Eisenhower, with no strong views on most domestic issues, is content to rely on the judgment of the staff members in whom he has confidence, so does Symington, even now, depend on the opinions of fellow Senators. If a vote is to be cast in the Senate on some issue outside the realm of national defense, Symington more than likely will ask anywhere from a half dozen to a half hundred Senators how they intend to vote, what their arguments are in support of the bill or in opposition to it.

His friends say the "consensus" method of arriving at a decision merely indicates that he wants to take advantage of every bit of information and sound advice that is available to him. Those who do not admire him as a public figure say it indicates, instead, his complete lack of knowledge and that absence of interest and knowledge suits Johnson and the Southern nominee-makers. Just as Sherman Adams, Herbert Brownell and others of a small band around Eisenhower actually make Presidential decisions today, so, they say, would those to whom Symington owed his nomination make the decisions in most fields, if he got to the White House. If he failed of election in this year of dim Democratic prospects, Johnson and the others would prefer to have Symington serve as custodian of the party for four years, rather than Harriman or Kefauver.

In fact, there are politicians who insist the people pushing the Symington nomination are far more interested in control of the party machinery until 1960 than they are in what may happen next November.

THERE is no reason, aside from Symington's willingness to follow the lead of others in all fields outside his obsession on national defense, to justify Johnson and his fellow-Southerners in thinking he would be putty in their hands if they put him in the White House. In fact, they may well be deluding themselves in their thought that they have a Democratic Eisenhower in pocket. For Symington resembles Eisenhower in another, more complimentary way. Each has a bull-headed stubborn determination. On issues where they have strong opinions, neither could be bullied or over-persuaded or enticed into making a decision against his better judgment.

But those of us who insist that Symington is not lacking in plain guts, have been on the defensive ever since the televised hearings in the case of Joseph R. McCarthy versus Army Secretary Robert T. Stevens. Although he stood out among the Senators as McCarthy's antagonist, there is no doubt Symington muffed a golden opportunity.

It was his chance to achieve, on nationwide television,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a reputation that would far exceed what Kefauver attained for himself by his crime investigation. Symington was to be the white knight, the dragon slayer, the champion of righteousness and decency, who put the villain McCarthy in his place before the eyes of millions.

As it turned out, no one emerged from the McCarthy hearings with any credit. Certainly Symington came out the worse from all his exchanges save the last.

His detractors said he simply lacked the combativeness to go into a kneeing, gouging, shin-kicking fray with the tough and unscrupulous McCarthy. His friends said he did himself credit by refusing to roll in the gutter with the Wisconsin Senator, that time has shown the way to deal with McCarthy was to stay above his level.

Regardless of which viewpoint is correct, it is a fact that Symington, who disliked to fight, is now being pushed for the Presidential nomination, and Hennings, who spent nearly four years in a toe-to-toe slugging contest with McCarthy, has not been mentioned. But at the time—1954—the talk of Symington for President, which had been fairly prevalent soon after his 1952 victory in Missouri, died. It was not revived until Kefauver bloodied Stevenson's nose in Minnesota.

Some Senate colleagues say that one reason Symington is like Eisenhower is that, as did the President, he came to politics a bit late in life. Also like Eisenhower, the only office to which he has been elected is a high one. Not until he began his courthouse-to-courthouse handshaking tour in the hot Missouri primary sun, had Symington ever asked anyone to vote for him. This lack of early political experience may account for the lack of interest Symington displays in some subjects toward which his colleagues are more alert. It also accounts for the great admiration he feels toward that expert political operator, Lyndon Johnson.

So neglected has been Symington's political basic training that he apparently sees no incongruity in a man who voted for Republican nominee Wendell Willkie standing ready to be the choice of the Democratic convention. Nor, for that matter, does Lyndon Johnson, who has just polished off the 1952 bolter, Shivers, seem to feel the 1940 bolter, Symington, suffers any political disability.

The oddest contradiction about Symington is that, although he is a manufacturer who rose from genteel poverty to great wealth, he is emotionally a New Dealer or Fair Dealer. No one talks with more feeling against the "trickle down" theory of prosperity.

Although descended from a long line of Virginia and Maryland Confederates, including a major on the staff of General George Pickett, Symington unwaveringly holds that the Supreme Court decision is the law of the land and must be put into effect. If he recognizes that integration is a far more difficult problem in Mississippi than it is in Missouri, that does not make him an interpositionist. When he has spread his views out for all to see, perhaps Symington won't be as desirable a dark horse as he is now. For if he commits himself far enough to the left to win the Northern delegates, he may well be unacceptable to Southerners.

Of course, if Stevenson wins both the Florida and California primaries, the Symington question becomes moot. There seems little doubt that Lyndon Johnson can and will deliver most of the Southern delegates to Stevenson, *if* the 1952 nominee has made in California a recovery such as Thomas E. Dewey made in the Oregon primary of 1948.

More Cars Than Buyers

by B. J. WIDICK

ON THE 10th of this month the stock market broke sharply on the news that General Motors for the first time in 10 years was closing its auto plants for one day. At about the same time, the *New York Times* published a series of articles entitled "The Recession Amidst Boom Hits Auto and Farm Tool Fields," the first suggestion that the auto industry was headed for real trouble.

Later this month, Gov. G. Mennen Williams urged the Eisenhower Administration to proclaim Detroit and five other Michigan cities as "distressed labor areas"; that is, an area where more than six percent of the total work force is unemployed. Detroit's figure of 125,000 unemployed in May is approximately nine percent of its labor force, and the percentage is still climbing.

Anyone who ventured to predict these events last year would have been greeted with smiles of polite incredulity. The industry's remarkable performance in sales and production in 1955 dazzled the public and silenced most critics. Last year some 9,188,000 motor vehicles were produced, of which 7,975,000 were passenger cars. General Motors announced a fabulous profit of $1.2 billion. Ford capped its exciting public-stock offer with

---

B. J. WIDICK, *co-author of* The UAW and Walter Reuther, *has written extensively on the automobile industry for the* Virginia Quarterly Review, Commentary *and other magazines.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an announcement of a profit in excess of $350 million. Even Chrysler, shaky in 1954, rallied in 1955 to recapture 19 percent of the market, at a tidy profit of $100 million. Amidst the crackle of so many dollar bills, a rising chorus of complaints from the auto dealers in the fourth quarter of 1955 was hardly heard. They said that profit margins were the lowest in years, that the big three were putting too much pressure on the dealers, and, ominously, that inventories were not being reduced. The industry had, in fact, more than 800,000 unsold cars on its hands by the end of 1955.

At this point the assertion that automobile production was the bellwether of the American economy was quietly exchanged for the notion that the system as a whole was healthy enough to sustain the industry. The president of GM, along with various spokesmen for Ford frankly admitted that a drop in production and sales was inevitable, perhaps to the extent of a 12-percent decline from the 1955 figures. In the startled hush that greeted this confession, the clamor of the automobile dealers became audible at last, and a series of public hearings was held by a Senate subcommittee under Sen. Mike Monroney (D, Okla.) to look into the matter.

Some interesting insights into the achievements of 1955 emerged from these sessions—for instance, the practice of bootlegging new cars. It developed that Michigan dealers last year bought twice as many cars from the factories as they sold in the state; the remainder were dumped by underselling dealers elsewhere. Both Ford and Chevrolet, it may be recalled, had frequently denounced this deplorable practice; yet testimony made it plain that, because of their scramble for top position in car sales, neither was willing to take action to put a stop to it. The manufacturers themselves, if it comes to that, were responsible for bootlegging, since the one-sided franchise agreement gave them total control over the quota of cars allocated to each dealer. Testimony at the hearings made it plain that overproduction, high-pressure sales tactics and consequent easy credit policies among the dealers (auto installment credit rose another $4 billion last year) were behind the "success" of 1955—and behind the troubles of 1956.

As automobile inventories continued climbing and reached 900,000 early this year, the big companies instituted shorter work schedules and a policy of gradual layoffs in an effort to strike a balance between production and sales. Still denying that sales pressures had sold the 1956 market in 1955, the manufacturers encouraged one another with hopeful predictions of a spring upsurge in sales, similar to the one that broke the 1954 recession pattern. But this time the upswing failed to appear in any significant degree, and at present a number of dealers admit, privately, that they are already writing off the 1956 models. The manufacturers also, while maintaining an appearance of judicious calm in the face of this unsettling development, are making all possible speed toward completing plans for the 1957 model which will, they hope, relieve the gloomy outlook considerably. But in spite of the fact that shops preparing tools and dies are working 10 hours a day, 7 days a week, it is unlikely that new models can be introduced before September.

Auto workers line up in Detroit for their unemployment insurance checks.

THIS state of affairs, grim enough for the big three, may prove disastrous for the smaller fry. Studebaker-Packard, which failed to prosper in the year of greatest automotive success, may simply vanish. And American Motors (Nash-Hudson) also appears to be in trouble: on May 14, the firm announced that 4,500 workers in Milwaukee and Kenosha, Wisconsin, will not be called back to their jobs as planned, since the predicted increase in demand for large cars failed to materialize. Even Chrysler, whose share of the market has slipped to less than 15 percent, is presently a member of the big three by courtesy only. The firm is making a strenuous effort, with the co-operation of the United Automobile Workers, to cut labor costs by increasing efficiency but, significantly, finds it cheaper to buy many parts from General Motors than to produce them in its own plants. Ford has held on to 26 percent of the market, but the colossal GM, with its advantages of size, cost control, huge advertising campaigns and friends where they count, has already staked out 55 percent of the market this year.

When the anticipated spring boomlet failed to come to the rescue, unemployment, already unusually high, continued to rise. The present recession jeopardizes the Guaranteed Annual Wage program which was established on a modified basis by the UAW during the 1955 negotiations. Major contract provisions give the corporations one year to accumulate funds to provide supplemental unemployment benefits of 65 percent of take-home pay for the first four weeks of unemployment and 60 percent for the next 22 weeks. But employment has already been curtailed to the point where accumulation of the fund at the rate of five cents per hour per man will be difficult, if not impossible, to realize. Moreover, the plan does not go into effect until June 1, so that the 141,000 workers already unemployed will not be eligible for new benefits. Then too, the crisis has intensified the industry's drive toward automation, which means that further dislocations of the labor market are in the offing.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nless sales pick up in the fairly near future, business obably heading for a readjustment comparable to the of 1946-48. With automobile indebtedness in the nborhood of $14 billion, with more than 52 million on the highways; with the rate of obsolescence only 3 million cars a year, it might not be putting it too gly to suggest that the saturation point in the auto- le market may be approaching, for the present. rtheless, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler are going ahead in the happy expectation that the situation will improve once the 1957 models throw the public into another surge of buying. The painful results of overproduction, overextended credit, layoffs and dealer readjustments apparently are causing no loss of sleep among executives of the big three. Nor do they appear to suspect that something might be wrong with the management of an industry that has led the country into four recessions in the past ten years.

T WEEK an unhappy Harlow Curtice reduced his estimate of 1955 auto production by 11 percent from the 6.5 million units he had predicted last January, and put the blame on the "restrictive" credit olicy of the Federal Reserve Board. It generated, the GM president insisted, "a somewhat lesser degree of con- idence," and was unnecessary because the so-called pres- ures of inflation were non-existent.

On April 13, for the fifth time in a little over a year, he Federal Reserve Board acted to contract the money upply by raising the rediscount rate—the interest rate t which banks borrow from the Federal Reserve. The Board felt it had good reasons. In the middle two weeks of March, banks expanded loans by more than $1.5 billion. This was three times the rate for the same period last year—weeks when businesses borrow to pay their axes. Unlike last year, loans continued to rise after the tax period, and it appears that business ate into the future in 1955 by using tax reserves for inventories and working capital much as consumers ate into the future to buy cars, homes, refrigerators and TV sets.

Alarmed by these events as well as the rise in industrial prices and projected steel increases later this year, the Reserve Board saw too much money chasing too few goods (*i.e.*, inflation) and did something about it. But, he original hard-money men in the Eisenhower Administration did a flip flop. With one eye on the election nd the other on the economic soft spots—the farm de- pression, the almost one million new cars in inventory nd on dealer's lots, the lay-offs at Detroit, and falling ousing construction figures—they matched their rosy ublic statements about prosperity by leaking contradictory stories to the business and national press expressing misgivings about the Federal Reserve Board's independent action. Private organs of the Republican Administration like *Business Week* castigated the Board in an editorial "The Politics of Tight Money" as ". . . subjecting the country to the most drastic credit squeeze since early 1953" and warned that the ". . . system will not survive if it attempts to close its eyes to the political consequences of its actions." There were private statements to this effect by Treasury Secretary George Humphrey and Economic Adviser Arthur Burns and public statements by the Secretaries of Labor and Commerce.

Understandably, therefore, Washington observers are speculating as to whether the Federal Reserve Board is to be made the "fall guy" for possible pre-November economic readjustments—readjustments which seem inevitable at some stage from an uneven prosperity which has brought zooming business and stock market activity and plunging small business and farm conditions. For what other reason would hard-money men turn into soft-money advocates?

The Federal Reserve was created by Woodrow Wilson and Carter Glass as an independent agency of the Congress. Yet its independence has been tempered by the facts of the real world. One of the methods the Reserve Board uses to stabilize the economy relates to buying and selling government bonds. When the Board sells bonds to banks, it takes money out of circulation; when it buys bonds, it restores money to circulation. During the Korean War, a period when anti-inflationary measures were called for, the Board bought government bonds to keep interest rates low and peg the market for the Treasury, in spite of the fact that this policy further increased the amount of money in circulation.

WITH the Treasury-Federal Reserve Accord of March 4, 1951, the Board was no longer committed to peg the bond market, which caused great rejoicing in the business community at the time. Yet, under Eisenhower, leading Democrats have claimed it crawled into bed with the Treasury again. The most recent public instance was in December, 1955, when the Board took George Humphrey off the spot by buying $167 million of Treasury bonds, unsaleable at the offering price, to peg the market. When in April, 1956, the Federal Reserve appears to have reasserted itself against strong-man Humphrey's views, the public must wonder whether it is really "kicking up its heels" or whether, wittingly or unwittingly, it has accepted the role of potential "goat" in an election year. The Federal Reserve can afford the role since, unlike a Treasury Secretary, its Board of Governors enjoy 14-year terms of office.

HOWARD E. SHUMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Submerged Moderates

by BENJAMIN MUSE

"WHAT IS a moderate?"

The question came from a Negro student near the back of the hall. It was "Law Day" at Howard University Law School. I had finished a speech to the Student Bar Association and was struggling through the brief questions-and-answers period. I had referred to the "moderates" on the question of compliance with the Supreme Court's decree against segregation in the public schools and this young man wanted to know what a moderate was.

Howard's law school has had more than a little association with this crisis. It trained most of the lawyers who have fought, and are fighting, the battles of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

I said something to the effect that, with the extreme attitudes prevailing on both sides of this question, one had to look for moderation as a relative thing.

"What is a moderate?"—persisted the not discourteous, but very earnest young man. This time I labored the point that a moderate on one side would not oppose all compliance with the anti-segregation ruling and a moderate on the other side would not demand too much desegregation too soon. But I had not satisfied my questioner—or myself—and the time was up. I have no doubt this law student, who in a few more years may be arguing desegregation cases in federal courts, is still asking the question. It also troubles me.

I wonder how many Southern politicians are really moderate at heart. Public statements are a poor guide. Some of them, of course, are sincere fanatics, but many are not. Some of the most defiant in public manifestations are relatively moderate in private conversation. Even Senator Eastland has moments of reasonableness and is civil to Negro representatives who confer with him.

The expression "staving off" integration offers a significant clue. That expression is used quite often, sometimes even publicly, by extreme segregationists. It is used by die-hards, who on every other occasion breathe a determination never to permit racial integration under any circumstances. Yet "staving off" reveals an actual awareness of the inevitability of ultimate compliance with the law of the land. A degree of "staving off," indeed, is compatible with the Supreme Court's pronouncements.

Neither Governor Clement of Tennessee nor Governor Folsom of Alabama has expressed approval of Court's decision or disapproval of segregation, but are certainly moderates in their own frames of refer Governor Clement has resisted extreme segregat pressure with notable courage and Governor Folso kept to a path of relative moderation in one of the where race tension has reached its most explosive How close his moderation has come to the politica survival limit was emphasized in the recent election fo Democratic national committeeman from Alabama. The Governor was overwhelmingly defeated by the author of Alabama's nullification resolution, Charles W. McKay, Jr.

On the other hand, some white Southerners who started off as professed moderates are acting very strangely. They have dismayed liberal friends by joining in the defiance chorus. Some, alas, have faltered and been swept along with the tide. But many others are still strugglin in small, painful ways against the tide. Only examinatio of the circumstances in each case will reveal the extent t which these harassed leaders are choosing the least amon a variety of present evils. The plight of Southern mo erates today—whether politicians, clergymen, educato or journalists—deserves the utmost sympathy. Some o them with whom I have talked show the physical traces of a gruelling emotional ordeal. They must live every da with colleagues and constituents as well as conscience.

STATE Rep. Robert Whitehead's has been the most resounding voice reminding Virginia's leaders of their solemn duty to uphold the Constitution of the United States as interpreted by the Supreme Court. Some of Whitehead's followers were shocked, therefore, during the last session of the Legislature when he introduced a resolution protesting the Supreme Court's "unwarranted abrogation by judicial decree of a power long existing in and exercised by the states." At a luncheon afterward with a group of liberal friends, including this writer, Whitehead explained his motives with an almost pathetic eagerness to be understood. It was just possible his proposal would have some restraining influence upon the "interpositionists." More importantly, four other Southern Governors were conferring with Virginia's Governor Stanley at the time. Might not his resolution suggest to them the possibility of something milder than nullification?

Whitehead had not "sold out." His resolution said:

BENJAMIN MUSE, *a former Virginia state Senator is Virginia Affairs columnist for the* Washington Post and Times Herald.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In so declaring, this Assembly . . . having, as it s prightfully should, due regard for the settled constitu- one onal principle of judicial review so brilliantly enun- neig ted by Virginia's beloved son, John Marshall, ex- ars ssly avers that nothing in this resolution contained abou ll be construed as nullifying, or attempting to nulli- stron the federal law embodied in the aforesaid decision of nob ay 17, 1954, of the Supreme Court of the US.

Neve ti-Supreme Court words have been spoken in in- rable instances for a pro-Supreme Court purpose.

ith reference to the recent segregation and state agitation in Virginia, the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot* "In this struggle most of the quiet, thoughtful, AS ate people of Virginia were squeezed out. Their ul ice has been minor, almost negligible."

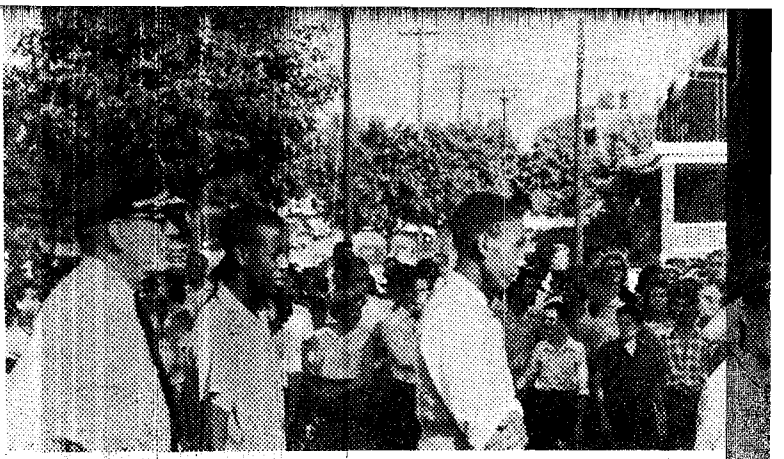
I w many moderates there are among the white peopl of the South is anybody's guess. Tolerance and moderation are passive, almost silent, elements. That is the South's great misfortune.

But after all the extenuating things have been said, the fact remains that the South's performance in this difficult time is a matter which few will look back upon with pride. Something ugly has been discovered under the honeysuckle and magnolias—vastly uglier than either North or South had realized before. The South in time will rise out of this turmoil to march at last in step with he rest of the Union, but a certain fading picture of a Dixieland of gallantry and grace has gone with the wind hat blew over Tuscaloosa.

I AM intrigued also to know who are the moderates on the other side of this question. Who among the active integrationists are willing to move with gradualism nd patience to bring about this great social change? here are some of this school even among NAACP eaders. But here again we have the extremists carrying the ball. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, and Thurgood Marshall, chief legal counsel, of the NAACP expressly reject the gradualism thesis. Some crusaders for integration fear that a retreat to moderation would cause the movement to lose its momentum. Many others feel that segregation is illegal and wrong and see no reason for delay in putting an end to it.

What is wanting on this side is a comprehension of the possible. It seems unlikely to a Southerner that any one could conceive of desegregation of public schools everywhere in the South this year, next year or within the next five years. That simply is not within the range of possibility. To demand it hardens the resistance and postpones the day of ultimate desegregation.

On the other hand, there are scores of Southern counties and cities of small Negro population where school integration could be accomplished with ease. If only this were demanded now, an avenue of reasonable compromise would be open. General abandonment of segregation in the South will come, but it will come only by a gradual process. It will have to begin in the easiest areas and end in the hardest. Many years, indeed, will go by before mixed schools are accepted in the last county of Mississippi.



1954: year of the Court's desegregation ruling. Two Negro boys leave Anacostia high school in Washington, D. C., with escort. The student body did not attend school that day.

The proper objective of the pro-integration movement is not to confound the pro-segregation fire-eaters. It is to bring about integration in the public schools. The best argument for that is integration itself—integration accomplished with a minimum of fuss in a few easy counties in otherwise recalcitrant Southern states. A healthy movement for compliance with the law of the land could go on from there.

The situation of the submerged moderates on both sides of the question is similar to an almost startling degree. Many are being pushed or pulled along in a course of which they do not entirely approve. After urging moderation among integrationists on the one hand and among segregationists on the other hand, I have heard precisely the same remark:

"Many of us agree with you, but we can't say so."

That is not to imply that both sides are on an equal moral or legal footing. One side is right, and the other side is wrong. But the extremists on both sides are equally obstructive to a solution of the South's great problem.

I am still wondering about my student friend, and whether he will ever find a satisfactory answer to his question. For evidently he is one of many at Howard University and many whom I have met elsewhere, both white and colored, who see no valid connection between moderation and human rights—no moderate approach to immorality and injustice.

There is, of course, no middle ground. But I submit that moderation in this transition is the beginning of wisdom. All-out attack upon race discrimination brings sensations and explosions. It may bring the closing of some public schools. But genuine progress will not be made until the moderates on both sides rise up and make their influence felt.

I say this because I would like to see race discrimination ended everywhere at the earliest possible date. Am I then a moderate?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & COMMENT

Brimstone and Silver

by Francis Hackett

In our brimstone era, fair fame can be blackened by a sort of chemical process. I know this process well, from working in our kitchen. It is conducted with a silver egg spoon. You apply the spoon to a boiled egg, and the sulphur in the yolk tarnishes the silver. To remove the tarnish is a sad little job. It calls for a detergent.

Exactly how vitriolic, how murderous, our era can be is only to be proved by contrast. Lord Acton, to show what political ferment was in his century, exclaimed that it had led to 25 assassinations. Think of that, as compared with our era. I am sure that a political writer of John Gunther's range could multiply this figure by ten, and even in my own narrow experience I could name almost a score of men known to me personally who have died before firing squads or by the rope or were assassinated. Ours has been a pathological state since the First War. In cases where justice is trampled on, we have the mind that is moved by suspicion, jumps to conclusion, and leaps to destroy, not because the metal attacked is proven base but because acids too sour and keen are applied to it, which blast lives or blacken character.

As an example I venture to take Mr. Hugh Trevor-Roper's recent introduction to the memoirs of Felix Kersten, Himmler's masseur. He attacks in this introduction Count Folke Bernadotte, who was assassinated in Jerusalem in 1948. He says, in effect, that in Bernadotte's account of the release of certain prisoners from Nazi camps the work of men like Dr. Kersten, (who bored from within) was slighted, that Jewish prisoners were not helped enough, and that Bernadotte took all the credit for himself.

All these charges have now been covered by a very important Swedish White Paper which severely criticizes Trevor-Roper, specifying what it considers bias, inaccuracies, misconstruction, insinuation and lack of data. Dr. Kersten's own evidence is taken under review. No doubt this White Paper will be answered, and Dr. Kersten will be heard from. Both Mr. Trevor-Roper and Dr. Kersten are alive to defend their position. Meanwhile, with Bernadotte mute and in his grave, I find that the tarnish sticks; people rely on Mr. Trevor-Roper as the man who wrote such a firm book on Hitler's last days, and this is a busy world.

But one aid to discernment exists, Bernadotte's own voice in his short book, *The Curtain Falls*. It is my belief that Trevor-Roper has utterly misunderstood this book. In the light of it, if I can make this clear, I really think it would be only fair for Trevor-Roper to reconsider his whole position.

The Curtain Falls cannot much exceed 30,000 words. It is in no sense whatever what Trevor-Roper has assumed it to be, a report on the so-called Swedish help to prisoners interned by the Nazis. Trevor-Roper has looked to it for the background of the teamwork that led to the release of prisoners, and concludes that it was a despicable human motive which left it out. The book is simply not that kind of book, and only the astigmatism of our era could keep this from being obvious, in my opinion.

At the time *The Curtain Falls* was written, in May, 1945, the subject foremost in most of our minds was the Nazi death agony. It was foremost in young Trevor-Roper's mind. It was foremost in Bernadotte's mind. He had been in the thick of it. The Allies were closing in on the Nazi monsters with whom he was dealing from February to April. Incident to their convulsive collapse was Himmler's final consent, procured by the tenacious and resourceful Bernadotte, to the release not only of over 4000 Scandinavians, his first commission from the Swedish government that paid for the Red Cross work, but of 19,000 of 27 nationalities, saved from almost certain liquidation in the last minute, on the eve of Himmler's suicide. That is why the two themes, the collapse and the release, are plaited together in th remarkable little book.

The book's character is as plain a words can make it. It was written, th preface states, "in the hope that wha I have told may throw some light on th dramatic events at the time of the col lapse of the Third Reich." The book' sub-title is "The Last Days of th Reich." In New York it was publishe by Alfred Knopf, who is not anti semitic. On the cover the Red Cros mission is not even mentioned. Th book is defined as "a unique eyewitnes story of the last days of the Reich a seen by a neutral observer inside Ger many." The same theme was explicit i the Swedish title, *Slutet,* literally Th End, (of Nazi domination). So littl was the intention to make the book detailed account of the expedition, so called, the sending of rescue buses t take out the released prisoners, that Ber nadotte states that "this will be the sul ject of a special report." The Whit Paper, in reality, makes this report.

Trevor-Roper, in the absence of th report, ascribes vulgar self-importan to Bernadotte. That is, he sandbags author for not writing a book he nev set out to write. This is literally pr posterous. He reproaches an account "my experiences during my work" f being other than a state paper. Ho hard it would be to understand if w had not lived through the bedevilmen of McCarthyism!

Bernadotte was the nephew of Kin Gustaf, had been an army officer, wa married to an American, and was a Re Cross man. He had been in charge o US flyers' internment in Sweden. I October, 1944, General Eisenhower sai to him that "he was of the firm opinio that Sweden's neutral policy had bee the right one, not only from her point o view, but also from that of the Allies.' In Paris, concurrently, Bernadotte wa fired as a neutral by talking with "ou Consul-General Raoul Nordling" wh thrilled him by telling how he had wo back French prisoners from the Ger mans. It could be done! Home i Sweden, the Norwegian diplomat, N C. Ditleff, the "driving force" behin the rescue of Norwegian prisoners, pro posed Bernadotte as a special envoy "The idea appealed to me greatly," say Bernadotte in his unstudied idiom, "M Ditleff and I went deeply into it." H

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vas the rocket, you might say, Ditleff he gun.

The pretext was the case of Swedish-orn women. The true goal, laid down y the Swedish Foreign Minister, was o extricate Scandinavian prisoners from he Nazi maw of Dachau, etc., and Ber-adotte first got them into a camp from which they could be evacuated quickly. He did it through Himmler, the Hitler gang obstructing. Himmler, foreseeing the fall of the Reich, hoped Sweden could ease it. In four tense interviews with the feverish Gestapo chief, Bernadotte pressed his mission home, had his scope widened by the Foreign Office, and did wonders. He abhorred Nazi Germany, the "millions of Jews murdered," and put the whole case of the Jews to Himmler, absolutely frank that the Nazi's bolt was shot and he was himself "dragged into high politics," to hasten the end. Simultaneously, Dr. Kersten, at the instigation of the Swedish government, with Mr. Masur of the World Jewish Congress, was working on Himmler. He is never mentioned. Did the Swedes, who opened their arms to every Danish Jew who escaped across the Sound, have to justify their position? The White Paper does not fail to cover that.

"Love for humanity is the strongest of all forces for good." That was Bernadotte's creed. Chosen unanimously to mediate in Palestine by the UN, he tried to apply it. He was a sacrifice to it. To judge of the situation eight years afterwards, another Swede is still meeting difficulties. To kill Bernadotte did not help, nor does it help to misrepresent him now, when times are out of joint.

I MET him on a boat once, in March, 1939. He was writing his speech for the opening of the Swedish section at the World's Fair, of which he was chief, and I went over it with him for its English. He was one of the least complicated, most humanly accessible of people, going to the point, straight, with blue eyes, black-set, that took you in, and could shine with amusement. We were standees at the opening. He came down from the platform and put us in the front row. "This is your speech." And the day before at lunch, when we asked him about the designs incised in Orrefors glass, his whole body laughed. It wasn't his topic. When he was a young officer, he said, his uncle Prince Eugene, a good painter, took him in hand, led him to the Louvre, Notre Dame, and other elevating sights, and at last to the Arc de Triomphe. To show how he had profited, the good nephew said, "Uncle, did not the same architect build the Arc de Triomphe and Notre Dame?" The sorrowing uncle studied him. "What must it feel like," he said to Heaven, "to live in such darkness?" The man who told this, a valuable international man in the making, was self-unimportant.

Whose is the loss when he is blackened? It is ours. Men who have freely spent themselves and even their lives are often mixed in motive and distorted by passion. But it is the business of publicists to see men who undertake great, many-sided humane enterprise for the kind they are, the most silvery of them often the most promptly disfigured.

E. M. Forster's Great-Aunt

by Ivor Brown

EDWARD MORGAN FORSTER who, incidentally got his first given name by a lapse of memory at the christening, was born in 1879. Thus he was able as a small boy to see and hear much of his great-aunt, Marianne Thornton, Aunt Monie to her family, who was born late in the 18th Century and did not die till 1887. This spanning of years has encouraged him to write a family history centered round a group of solid, pious, prosperous London bankers and merchants who had their seats in Parliament as well as their pews in the Anglican Church (Evangelical wing). Marianne Thornton never married and had plenty of time to write letters which she did in abundance and with a vigorous, incisive style. These letters, very carefully preserved by her relatives, have provided Mr. Forster with his material: his own contributions are a clear, easy, unforced style of his own, a kindly but never sentimental judgment of his forebears, and a happy power to create the social scene in which the Thorntons flourished amid their great virtues and their handsome homes and gardens, while they sought to purge the outer world of some at least of its vices.

Marianne Thorton: A Domestic Biography (1797-1887), by E. M. Forster (Harcourt, Brace; $5).

The Thorntons lived in Clapham, four miles to the south of the Thames, and then a semi-rural area. (A huge railway station called Clapham Junction, some way from the real Clapham, has inevitably created the idea that Clapham must be a noisy and a dirty part of London; but until quite recently, Clapham, with its stretch of Common surrounded by substantial houses, was a tranquil and elegant residence of respectable city man and much favored by the higher rank of journalists.) The Thorntons' house, called Battersea Rise, was a handsome specimen of the Queen Anne period, with additions: its centre-piece was a large oval library and its size was great: there were thirty-four bedrooms. Its huge, well timbered garden had a much admired tulip-tree. When Marianne was a child, one of her terrors was that Napoleon and his knavish men would not only cross the Channel to invade Clapham; they would cut down the tulip-tree.

But the Clapham home was more than spacious and serene, a fortress of Christian domesticity based on successful banking. It was one of the bases of the Clapham Sect, a group of politicals and pietists which included William Wilberforce, the zealous champion of the Anti-Slavery campaign, and Zachary Macaulay, father of Thomas Babington Macaulay. The Sect belonged to the "low" end of the Church of England and its members were insatiate advocates of their favorite forms of betterment. The Bible must be more widely known among the heathen: the Jews must be converted: the slaves must be set free. They worked and made money and worshipped with equal energy; prayer before meat, as Mr. Forster remarks, but always ample meat.

The Clapham "Saints" have been, of course, accused of hypocrisy. Why were they so eager to liberate the Negro far

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

away and so completely oblivious of the ruthless exploitation of white women and children in the mines and factories so near at hand? It is easy to suggest now that they were exercising their piety where it would cost least and that it is always easy to be the good employer when you are not paying the bill. The Sect would fight foreign slavery to the end. But what went on in the black country of the Midlands and the "dark, satanic mills" of Northern England, was not their business:

> When the slavery was industrial they did nothing and had no thought of doing anything; they regarded it as something "natural," to encounter it was an educational experience, and an opportunity for smug thankfulness. Misery might be alleviated at the soup-kitchen level, but to do more might make the workers unruly and even un-Christian. Hence Hannah More's tracts, recommending industry, frugality, obedience, and harder and still harder work. Hence Wilberforce's unsatisfactory record in Parliament when it came to Home Affairs—his support of the Combination Acts, his approval of the Peterloo massacre — and hence Francis Place's description of him as "an ugly epitome of the devil."

But the criticism of the Sect, thus accepted by Mr. Forster, leads to another and a just reflection. Humbugs or not, Wilberforce and his friends were trying to achieve some improvement in the world, whereas myriads of their prosperous fellow Britons had no qualms of conscience or desire to do anything at all. This has evoked from Mr. Forster the perfectly just criticism of the critics of the Clapham "Saints:"

> . . . I agree with the above line of criticism. But I do not share the moral indignation that sometime accompanies it. The really bad people, it seems to me, are those who do no good anywhere and help no one either at home or abroad. There are plenty of them about, and, when they are clever as well as selfish, they often manage to slip through their lives unnoticed, and so escape the censure of historians.

We follow the family fortunes, mainly placid, but badly disturbed when Henry Thornton, Marianne's brother, insisted on marrying his deceased wife's sister. This was then illegal in Britain and could only be achieved within the law by marrying abroad. This was outrageous conduct in the eyes of Clapham, where France and such places were regarded, with or without the foul fiend Buonaparte, as Satan's colonies on earth.

Time, however, heals even such wounds as these. The Thorntons were very much a family and to them the Future Life, in which they believed without question, would be simply a continuation of the present domesticity; theirs was a very homey heaven. But Death's rites were intensely observed despite this pleasant confidence in the hereafter. Mr. Forster has some sensible things to say of past and present fashions in mourning. At Clapham

> . . . the bereaved and their comforters all write enormous letters, symptoms are dwelt on, dying speeches and death moments repeated and extended, the Will of God is bowed to again and again, sorrow is so persistently exhibited as joy that both become meaningless. The 20th Century observer has to remind himself that inside all this cocoonery of words there was love, there was pain. It was the technique of the age and of a section of the middle class; it lasted, as far as my own family were concerned, into the 1850's. After that the technique of mourning shortens; it is now very brief and some sensible people cut out mourning altogether. With it they cut down pain, which has practical advantages, and with pain they cut down love. People today love each other from moment to moment as much as ever their ancestors did, but loyalty of soul, such as the elder Thorntons possessed, is on the decrease.

Marianne lived on; strangely, she never married; she was a woman of some property, good-looking, vivacious, amusing, and perhaps, with some tendency to self-assurance and all-knowingness. Some such cause must explain her continued spinsterdom. She naturally became Big Sister to the Thorntons and Mr. Forster's childhood memories are charming; no less delightful are her letters written to the small boy who was so unkindly labelled, in family circles, The Important One. Important he was to be and that, as he gratefully acknowledges, owing to a legacy of Marianne's, which sounds inconsiderable now but was of great purchasing power then. It was with this aid that E. M. Forster was able to go to Cambridge, (where, curiously, he won no scholarships), and then travel in Europe. Freed from the necessity to be a salary-earner in his youth, he could turn in leisure and without anxiety to the profession that has

Sunday in the Country

No wind-wakeness here: a cricket's creed
intoned to the attentive wood all day,
the sun's incessant blessing; too much gold
weighs on my head where I lay it in light.
Angels climb through my lashes, their wings
so white, every color clings there. Sky,
deep and accusing in its blue, scrapes
my conscience like a nail. I'm glad
for the gray spider who, with torpid
menace, mounts my shoe; for the skittish
fly wading in hairs of my arm to tickle
his belly. Long grass silky as a monk's
beard, the blades all yellow-beamed;
corporeal self's too shapeful for this manger.
But I am mesmerized by trumpet sun
funneling hallelujah to my veins.

Until, at tabernacle's back, a blurt guffaw
is heard: an atheistic stranger calls
a cynical word, that wakes the insurrection.
Wind starts in the wood, stripping gilded
cassocks from the pines. One infidel,
a black Voltairean crow, has spoiled
the sacrament. And I can rise and go.

MAY SWENSON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

kept him ever since. He owed his grand-aunt a debt and he has amply repaid it in a book which gives her a second and a gracious life and is, furthermore, a delightful contribution to the social history of late Georgian and Victorian England.

From the 1790s to the 1890s is a long passage of life. Mr. Forster has done honor to the period. His own autobiographical section covers only a few years of boyhood. Will he now extend it with a full treatment of his own life, thus linking 1797 with 1957 or later? Two lives and nearly two centuries. What a perfect pair of volumes there would be, if he would continue where he has now left off.

The Man Who is President

by Frederick W. Collins

HERE is the paradox of the Eisenhower political position. It is possible to quarrel with just about everything that Mr. Pusey says in the main body of this book, which lies on its belly before the idol. It is possible to agree with most of the judgments he expresses in a final chapter, "Measure of the Man." So what has happened? One studies the paradox and comes up with the answer about Mr. Pusey and the public. Both are so bemused by The Man who is President that they cannot or will not make critical appraisal of the Man As President.

Eisenhower the President, by Merlo J. Pusey (Macmillan; $4).

Mr. Pusey's book is one of the worst things that has happened in American political literature. It is almost unbelievable. It has to be read to be appreciated—But don't bother to read it; survive without appreciation.

Mr. Pusey is referred to respectfully in all the reviews as the author of a biography of Charles Evans Hughes which won a Pulitzer Prize a couple of years ago, and is also describable as an editorial writer on *The Washington Post and Times Herald.* That explains why most reviews of his book, written in many instances by newspapermen, have gone out of their way to try to be sympathetic. One doesn't ordinarily trounce a fellow. But newspapermen don't ordinarily write books like this.

To get back to the beginning, we have his Measure of the Man.

The President is held in high esteem here and abroad. His government can function without him, and has. He has made the Presidency an institution. He is not power hungry. He has no desire to boss either Congress or the courts. He is a great one for achieving a "meeting of minds." He is a likeable person. He has a high degree of non-partisanship. He dislikes petty bickering and vindictiveness. His idealism is under careful control. He is concerned with great problems. He is simple of manner.

That is a fair summary of Mr. Pusey's final chapter, his summing up for the jury.

Who could quarrel with it?

Who could claim it described a great President?

Mr. Pusey.

The body of the work is full of such sustained and detailed adulation that it would be impossible, in space short of what Mr. Pusey has used, to refute it all.

Mr. Pusey reports in great detail the episode in the 1952 campaign in which Eisenhower excised from a speech in Wisconsin a favorable reference to General Marshall. It would have put him at odds with Senator McCarthy.

"Well, take it out," the General said *in a co-operative mood.* "He yielded nothing in principle," says Mr. Pusey, "because his faith in General Marshall had already been clearly stated and would be reiterated later in the campaign."

But not in Wisconsin.

From that episode flowed all the McCarthyism Mr. Eisenhower permitted to happen in two of the saddest years in American history. So where does Mr. Pusey come out?:

> Throughout the long contest with McCarthy the President had scarcely raised his voice. He had talked in measured terms of fairness, upheld officials who were under attack, and spoken forthrightly for the principles that McCarthy was trampling underfoot. The weapons he used were only persuasion, restraint, and moderation. Yet his victory was complete. It is doubtful whether the history of American politics offers another example in which soft-spoken candor and sincerity have so strikingly triumphed over demagoguery.

One thing about Eisenhower has been spelled out by Mr. Pusey in candid, even brutally candid, terms. Anyone who differed with him was a louse. Truman "ranted and spluttered." Senator Flanders opposed the Formosa resolution. How? He "moaned."

Does anyone want to know about Mr. Eisenhower's foreign policy? Well, relax, it's all right.

"Taking a panoramic view of our foreign policy since 1952," says Mr. Pusey, "the sunlight clearly exceeds the clouded areas."

There is much more in the book. How Eisenhower got into the campaign. How he campaigned. How he organized his cabinet. How he does his office work.

The *one* most important book in the field of foreign affairs

RUSSIA *and* AMERICA

DANGERS AND PROSPECTS

by Henry L. Roberts

- Just published — the long-awaited study of American-Soviet relations by the Director of the Russian Institute at Columbia University.
- Based on two years of intensive research and discussion by a group of top-level experts.
- This is the key book on the key problem in the world today: how to keep peace with Russia.
- In a Foreword, John J. McCloy, former High Commissioner to Germany, points up some of the most urgent phases of the problem and gives his own views on how to meet them.

At bookstores, $3.50

Published for the
COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
by ***HARPER & BROTHERS***

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Voting Guide 1956

The ISSUES which are at stake in this year's election, set forth in concise, readable form, with introductory statements by MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, HARRY S. TRUMAN, and ELMER DAVIS.

★ The Role of the Presidency
by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

★ The Challenge Abroad
by Reinhold Niebuhr

★ Civil Rights and Immigration
by Herbert H. Lehman

★ Civil Liberties
by Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.

★ Social Welfare
by Paul Douglas

★ Peaceful Prosperity
by Robert R. Nathan

★ Natural Resources
by Wayne Morse

★ Farm Prices and Income
by Charles F. Brannan

Plus . . .

★ **The Conventions, by William V. Shannon**—how they got that way and how to view them on TV.

★ **Getting Into Politics, by Gus Tyler.** How to get into the campaign—and how to be effective once you're in.

A MACO book, VOTING GUIDE 1956 is on sale at leading magazine outlets—or mail in the coupon below.

Americans for Democratic Action
1341 Connecticut Ave. NW
Washington 6, D. C.

I enclose check or a postal order for 75c, made out to "A.D.A." Please send me VOTING GUIDE 1956.

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

How he fuddled through Indo-China. How he presented his gleaming boyish personality at Geneva. How he justifies less defense for more equilibrium in the budget. How he rationalizes his subjection to Congress. How he is passing off the immediate national necessities in his domestic program. How he has permitted a most meretricious prosperity to occur under his name. How he fudged on internal security issues.

A word about how this book was written, as the foreword usually say. So far as can be established, Mr. Pusc has never talked with The Man. It i quite clear that he talked with lesse persons who, in his own words, are "en chanted" by Mr. Eisenhower.

He seems to have talked with th Secretary of State, and this must hav been a great exercise in bilateral enchant ment.

Merlo, why have you done this to th wells of opinion?

A Thorn in the Flesh

by Reinhold Niebuhr

THE author, Father Trevor Huddleston, is, as almost everyone knows, even in America, the Anglican Monk of the "Community of the Resurrection" who has been a thorn in the flesh of the South African Government as the chief white champion of the

Naught for Your Comfort, by Trevor Huddleston (Doubleday; $3.75).

Negro victims of the cruel policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa.

This volume introduces us to the whole sad tale of man's inhumanity to man. The failure to recognize a common humanity is so flagrant in South Africa that one is almost inclined to become complacent as an American. Despite our desegregation problems, the difference between America and South Africa is that there is hope here, and there seems none in South Africa. The Negro population is completely rightless and powerless. The usual consequence of such rightlessness and powerlessness is that human cruelty knows no bounds. Father Huddleston indicts the whole system with great eloquence, and describes in detail the social consequence of the Government policy, the "shantytowns" the insecurity of the families, evicted from one location to another, the terrible lot of the children, the youthful criminals or *tsotsis* driven into crime by desperation. There is in fact no form of human misery which the *apartheid* policy does not foster.

Father Huddleston was recently recalled by his monastic order to retur to England. The reason given was tha the Community of the Resurrectio wanted the public to realize that hi fight against *apartheid* was not a personal one but a Christian commitmen of the whole community. Huddlesto was nevertheless a symbol to the Negr community of the saving remnant o Christian charity in a situation in which the Christian Church, that is the church of the Dutch farmers, has become the chief instrument of oppression. It is too bad that he was recalled, whatever the reasons.

THERE is only one weakness in this excellent book. It explains the relation of the Christian Church to the whole sorry mess only obliquely. One gathers that the Dutch Nationalist Party, which is the author of the *apartheid* policy, is really the creation of the Reformed Church; and that the English speaking churches are officially all opposed to the rigorous segregation policy. But one also notes that Huddleston thinks that the English speaking churches are too content with official pronouncements. They do not do anything to proclaim their solidarity with the Negro victims of injustice. The South African situation is doubly tragic because the white man is oppressing the black man on his own continent and because the Dutch farmers also intimidate the English citizens, who do not agree with the policy. They succeed in this intimidation, partly because the English people are not sufficiently opposed to the racial policy to offer real opposition. Father Huddleston presents

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is with all the facts, but the total survey of the dismal religious situation is lacking. One must also regret his frequent assurance of his confidence in the "sincerity" of the Christians who differ with him, and his absolution of them of any "malice" in their attitudes. When human relations have become so inhumane as they obviously are in South Africa, the questions of "sincerity" and "malice" become rather irrelevant. What does it matter if Hitler was "sincere" or not?

Chivalry, Culture and Faith

by Victor Lange

DURING his long and productive career as novelist Feuchtwanger has returned again and again to two main themes: one is the interplay of different civilizations, the other, more specific, the tragic role of the Jewish people in this intermingling of cultures. *Jew Suess* as well as *Josephus,* his two most successful works, dramatize both aspects of the problem by representing the fate of the renegade who is willing to assimilate himself for the sake of gaining power and alien society.

This same clash between conflicting views of life and the tensions produced by the claims of nearly incompatible faiths are in Feuchtwanger's latest book,

Raquel, the Jewess of Toledo, by Lion Feuchtwanger (Messner; $4.50).

Raquel. The story of the Jewess of Toledo has been told in numerous folktales and is best known from the dramatic chronicles of Lope de Vega and Grillparzer. Ibrahim the Jew, who as a child in Seville adopted the Mohammedan faith, enters the service of Alfonso of Castille. By his policies he succeeds in restoring prosperity to the depleted country, but fails to restrain the pride and chivalrous ambitions of his king. Alfonso wages war against the Caliph of Cordova and eventually loses half his realm.

The king's love for Jehuda's daughter is the central episode in the novel, a passionate and romantic attachment that brings the conflict between Jewish and Christian traditions and temperaments into sharp focus. What Jehuda tried in vain to convey to the king is achieved by the gentle and wise devotion of the beautiful and highly cultivated Jewish girl. For a brief span of seven years, while the fervor of the crusades stirs the rest of Europe, Alfonso seems content to live serenely and to restrain the desire for heroic self-assertion that is part of his knightly ideal. When at the end of that time the campaign against the Moslems offers him an irresistible temptation, his pride and his nostalgia for death plunge his people into disaster. The people of Toledo, seeking revenge, kill the Jew and Raquel.

THE PLOT is simple enough but a bare outline of the design gives little indication of the skill which Feuchtwanger brings it to life. His talent is essentially descriptive: with an astonishing display of picturesque learning and a meticulous array of detail he establishes a fascinating picture of one of the great periods of the middle ages, the civilization of Christian chivalry in the 12th Century, an age at once sophisticated to the point of decadence and barbaric in its craving for melodramatic action.

In nearly all its provinces but particularly in Spain this world found itself threatened by the military and spiritual challenge of the infidels—both civilizations sustained by the same fanatical attachment to their own moral code. In Feuchtwanger's novel the Castilian world of *courtoisie* finds itself fatally overwhelmed by the more differentiated and mature ways of the Mohammedans and Jews—the two creeds are for the sake of narrative effect made nearly to coincide in their basic attitude; they represent the antithesis to Alfonso's impetuous desire for heroic triumphs. The image of the chivalrous warrior, next to that of the humanist and that of the Judeo-Christian tradition, seems clearly to Feuchtwanger one of the main ingredients of Western civilization. If he regards it throughout the novel with a discreet measure of distaste, he gives to it nevertheless all the brilliant and lavish colors which a master of pageantry and an expert story-teller can muster. He creates appealing figures that lend to both camps their special reality.

Yet, his concern is not primarily with psychological penetration: neither the Jew nor his daughter nor, indeed, that host of subsidiary figures come completely alive. They are essentially theatrical characters whose motives and thoughts are sparingly delineated by a sort of balladesque vocabulary. Only the king himself emerges as a truly absorbing and convincing personality: he knows that he is inescapably caught in the dilemma of his age, between dedication to ideals of knighthood and respect for the (Eastern) virtue of wisdom that springs from patience and a sense of moral integrity. This dilemma provides the suspense in Feuchtwanger's retelling of the old romance. He writes soberly and, one feels, without allowing himself to go beyond the matter-of-fact style of the reporter. His prose lacks resonance and subtlety, but the novel as a whole is successful enough in preserving the pathos of the love of two half-inscrutable figures set against the background of their conflicting views of life.

The Rebirth of Free Political Discussion

Hear

Eugene
DENNIS

W. E. B.
DUBOIS

A. J.
MUSTE

Norman
THOMAS

in

"America's Road to Democracy and World Peace"

Carnegie Hall
Sunday May 27 8:15 P.M.
Tickets $1 and $2

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
21 Audubon Avenue,
New York 33, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TELEVISION

Around Africa with Murrow

EDWARD R. MURROW's two-part "Report from Africa" was an impressive demonstration of the high standard of journalism television can achieve if it ever sets its mind to it. Tackling an entire continent—or, at least, a dozen sizable segments of one—was an ambitious project even for Mr. Murrow; but in my opinion the undertaking was a great success. Here was a "spectacular" that lived, a chunk of the "Wide, Wide World" about which all of us must become increasingly concerned.

"Report from Africa" was a political report, not a two-hour version of *Inside Africa*, as I had originally feared it might be. Freedom was the theme, and the films which made up the show had been edited with that theme in mind. No lions stalked their prey; no witch-doctors shook their rattles; no camels posed picturesquely atop sand dunes. Instead, black men and white men talked politics. And, without ever lecturing or preaching, Mr. Murrow made it very clear that we should listen well.

The "Report" began with shots of Gold Coast voters chanting "Freedom! Freedom! Freedom!" at a political rally. Then, as the camera cut from boatmen singing as they paddle through the surf to a Gold Coast jazz band playing in a nightclub, Mr. Murrow noted the fact that the ancestors of many US Negroes left Africa, as slaves, from this territory. In an interview the confident, smiling Prime Minister of the Gold Coast underlines the theme of the "Report." Political emancipation is the first need of Africa, he says; and the emergence of Western-style democracy is the most important political force in Africa.

But this note of admiration for Western democracy is quickly qualified. In the visit to Liberia which follows, Soviet representatives appear at a garden party in Monrovia, and old President Tubman says flatly that when American capital is not available, Liberia will look elsewhere. Here the secondary theme is introduced, to be repeated again and again in later episodes. Nationalism is the core, but the nationalists are not so dedicated, or so naïve, as to ignore their strategic importance, and their bargaining power, in a divided world.

The "Report" moves on to Kenya, where, in one of the most fascinating sequences I've watched on television, former Mau Mau make their confessions and respond to the interrogation of a young white woman. The men grin nervously and harp on "education." One says he joined the Mau Mau because of promises of education; another says he quit the organization when he recognized the need for education—and the power of the government. There is a reminder of Kiplingesque colonialism as the Governor-General, wearing gleaming whites and a plumed topi, makes a public address; but this same Governor-General talks of the political lessons learned, and the Minister of Agriculture calls for multi-racism—political first, ultimately social as well. He is a nationalist, too; he wants all the people to think of themselves first as Kenyans, as, he says, people of many races in the United States think of themselves as Americans.

THEN there is the Congo. Mr. Murrow reminds us of the importance of Congo minerals to America's industry, and its armament, and he says that some people believe that the Congo represents colonialism at its best. No one can vote, but there are economic opportunities and social services for all. A Belgian official needles America in describing the Congo's inter-racial schools. The alternative to colonialism, he says, is chaos.

There is the Union of South Africa. Only here, says Mr. Murrow, has th clock turned backward. Strijdom refuse to be interviewed, but Father Huddle ston speaks eloquently of the sickness o this land. White supremacy, not *apar theid*, is the goal. He compares Sout Africa to Hitler's Germany and deplore the failure of the Christian churches. I a deeply moving sequence, reclassifie Colored speak with passion, or in be wilderment, of the tragedy that ha come to them. And the women of th Black Sash stand silent.

In Rhodesia the Prime Minister warn of the danger of moving too quickl toward equality but says grimly tha partnership *must* work. Partnership, say Mr. Murrow as the first hour ends, i the best that can be hoped for.

THE second part of the "Report fro Africa" begins in Sudan, with joyfu crowds running through the streets o Khartoum, celebrating their country' freedom. Their Prime Minister, too thinks that all Africa will be free; an in Ethiopia, Haile Selassie calls Afric the continent of the future. Ethiopia children use readers provided under th Point Four program, and Point Fou instructors teach well-drilling, farmin methods, and handicrafts. Premier Nas ser talks of the need for controlling th Nile so that Egypt's standard of livin can be raised. Mr. Murrow comment that Nasser's political promises are stil to be tested.

Then, abruptly, as the cameras switc to Algeria, there is violence. Troop move into action, and mobs riot in th streets. A French farmer reads a lette from the terrorists, condemning him t death. There must be reforms, he says but peace must be established first. A French general insists that the fate o

Next Week

The German Fifth Column
by H. R. Trevor Roper
and
essays by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
Wilfred Binkley and
Donald Malcolm

Notes on Contributors

FRANCIS HACKETT, one of the origina editors of this journal, is in Denmar completing a new novel. IVOR BROWN i a British novelist and critic. MAY SWEN SON is a young New York poet. FRED ERIC W. COLLINS is Washington corre spondent for *The Providence Journal* REINHOLD NIEBUHR's newest book i *The Self and the Dramas of History* VICTOR LANGE is on the German faculty of Cornell University. DAVID R. EBBIT is a commentator on television and th popular arts.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ıe West depends upon the outcome of ıe struggle in North Africa. He beeves that Communists are behind the :bels, and the Mayor of Algiers agrees ıat the Reds are working everywhere. n an interview the Mayor declares that ıe Moslems already have equality, that rench and Moslem children attend the ıme schools, that all segregation will—*ıust*—disappear. He refuses to consider ıe possibility that France may lose Aleria: for France, he says, the loss would ıean economic collapse.

A young Algerian nationalist is interıewed, in New York (the French ⁄ould not permit an interview in Aleria). He rejects the term *native*: "We re Algerians." He rejects the charge of :ommunist support and blames French 'blindness" for Communist gains in ndo-China. Algeria is pro-West, he ays, but the West has been against ılgeria. He implies that circumstances ıay force the Algerians to accept Comnunist arms.

Shots of jet bases and testing ranges or guided missiles make clear the ımerican stake in North Africa. Mr. Murrow points out that the highly trategic B-47 bases in Morocco were ›btained through negotiations with ·rance and that new negotiations with he sultan of free Morocco have not yet aken place. He outlines the subsidizaıon of the Libyan government by Briain and the United States, and the ·rime Minister of Libya talks of the mportance of the American installations o his country's economy. Libya has reused Soviet aid because it wants to emain with its Western friends, but Murrow reminds the US that the prinıples of freedom apply to all, not only o those countries, like France and the JS, which won their revolutions long go. Libya, he says, sympathizes with the Algerian cause and deplores the tactics ›f the French. He sees no danger from Communism in Africa—*unless* the West orces Africa to turn toward Communism.

The "Report" was rounded off with lips of a half dozen of the interviews vith African leaders, both black and vhite. And finally Mr. Murrow spoke ›f the urgent need for Western powers o work out ways of dealing with Afriıans—with equality, dignity, and deency. His own thoughtful "Report" vas a model of such treatment.

DAVID R. EBBITT

Correspondence

(Continued from page 3)

greatest profit to the stockholders but this argument was used because his opponents would understand it, and not because this was the essence of his attitude. Throughout the film it was evident that he thought the consumer was entitled to value for his money and that mainly the company should make something worth while; they should turn out a good product—something to be proud of.

Facts and concise interpretations are the liberal's greatest tools and must be adhered to rigidly.

PERSHING L. BALDWIN
Seattle, Washington

► *Freedom of Speech for A. Hiss*

SIRS:

A letter appeared in this column May 7, written by two former members of the Swarthmore Students for Democratic Action, concerning the Chapter's stand on the cancellation of its speaking invitation to Alger Hiss. The character of their letter makes a reply necessary, in order to set the record straight.

Firstly, the Swarthmore SDA statement (quoted, *NR* April 23) was issued by myself, as Chairman, in co-operation with a half dozen other members. It was drawn up immediately following the meeting of March 7, at which time the position presented in our statement had been overwhelmingly approved.

Secondly, the ADA reasoning, far from it being "well known that the real reason . . . was political wisdom," was a multi-faceted one, their major objection being that Alger Hiss was to them a special symbol, a symbol who brought the wrath of suspicion upon the liberal in McCarthy's heyday. They did not feel that they could offer a forum to a man who represented such a violation of our basic aims and principles.

Thirdly, SDA has voluntarily given up the right to contradict ADA policy in order to have a part in the making of that policy. This being an internal organizational matter, it precludes any validity to the claim that the decision is a violation of civil liberties.

ALEX SHAKOW,
Chairman
Swarthmore College

The New Republic welcomes communications from its readers in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less lend themselves to publication more readily than longer letters.

► *Lysenko's Fall from Grace*

SIRS:

My review of Bertram Wolfe's *Six Keys to the Soviet System* (*NR*, April 23), contained an editorial addition indicating that Wolfe did not take notice of the recent repudiation of Lysenko's theories of genetics. As a matter of fact, Mr. Wolfe did describe Lysenko's fall. I agree completely with Mr. Wolfe's treatment of Soviet genetics. My only reservation is that one should not consider genetics typical of all Soviet science.

J. F. MATLOCK
Dartmouth College

FALSTAFF RECORD SERVICE

If your time is limited, let us provide you with a reliable mail order source for the complete L. P. repertoire.

We offer the greatest discounts consistent with the quality of records and service you have the right to expect. No minimum purchase is required.

Catalog and price list on request. Exclusively mail order.

317 East 13th Street,
New York 3, N. Y.

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Swimming, Boating, Fishing on Natural Lake. Badminton, Volley Ball, Ping-pong, other sports. Movies, records, books. Summer Theatre nearby. Food of excellent quality in generous quantities.
$50.00 Weekly; $7.50 Daily
Weekend: Fri. Supper thru Sun. Dinner $15
65 Miles from New York City
Jane C. Arenz R. D. No. 1 Walden, N. Y.
Phone Newburgh 1232
OPEN JUNE FIRST

FASCINATING NEW FOLK ARTS—West Germany, Japan, Denmark. Potluck, 10c to $10, guaranteed. Free list. PACIFIC NEW ENGLAND, INC., Box 1152, Studio City, Calif.

BRITISH BOOK BARGAINS—ALL SUBJECTS. Catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-NR, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

FOR SALE: Attractive country properties in Litchfield County, Conn. and Berkshire County, Mass. Reasonably priced. ASHLEY FALLS REALTY CO., ASHLEY FALLS, MASS.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 12c
Per word 6 times in one contract year 11c
Per word 13 times in one contract year 10c
Per word 26 times in one contract year 9c
Per word 52 times in one contract year 8c

NEW REPUBLIC
1826 Jefferson Pl. N.W., Wash. 6, D. C.

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to our readers...

AFTER MANY MONTHS of planning and consultation with persons well-informed on Soviet affairs, we are scheduling for publication in The New Republic of Jun 11 a 56-page survey and analysis of Soviet developments since the death of Stalin, and their implication for United States foreign policy.

We anticipate considerable general and scholarl interest in this special supplement, not only because of the widespread desire for authoritative comment on this important subject, but because of the calibr of persons contributing.

Among the topics to be considered will be the impact of recent Soviet trends on the Satellites, Communist China, India and Pakistan, Southeast Asia, Western Europe, the Middle East; a discussion of th meaning of "change" in Soviet society; essays on developments in Soviet social science, military tech nology, literary life, economic progress.

Many New Republic subscribers will want to kee this special issue in their permanent library. So would others not now familiar with this Journal. Wh not order a one-year gift subscription today for a friend. All gift orders we receive no later than Jun 30th will include this special issue on The Soviet Union Since Stalin.

CLIP AND MAIL THIS ORDER FORM TODAY

THE NEW REPUBLIC, 1826 Jefferson Pl., N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.
Please send The New Republic for one year (52 weeks)--and include the special June 11th issue on "The Soviet Union Since Stalin"--to:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

DONOR'S NAME _____

☐ Payment enclosed ($7) ☐ Bill me

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED